tives. These are spoken of as "clothing" for the realtives of the bride. Theoretically, the presents"become nothing" for this purpose, but in reality they are returned later on as a means of increasing the prestige of ~~x~~ each recipient. In consequence, acre is taken to ensure that ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ industrious individuals receive more than others. These presents are often of considerable value, since they not only mark the noble sentiments of X.'s family with regard to him, but they are also on behalf of X. whose wife will help him at future potlatches.
a sound financial investment. Goods receives as "food" at the meal are restored in the same fashion as this "clothing." This completes the marriage ceremony. ~~XXX~~ Y.'s relatives often stay for some time longer in X.'s house, but gradually go home as they think fit.

That night X. and Y. sleep together.

It is contrary to custom for X.'s relatives to hoard the goods which they received from Y.'s relatives as "bed covering" or "rope fastening" for her. Within a few days, or a few weeks, the actual time is immaterial, they must invite their fellow-villagers to a ceremony of some kind. If it is winter this can be a s ~~xxxx~~ or kusiut dance, or if it is summer-time it must be a non-sacred affair. Y.'s father and other relatives attend, furnished with the usual presents. When the ceremony, whatever it may be, is over and the time comes for the dustribution of presents, a herald calls out that there is no place for X. to sit, or that his seat is unfirm, if he has already been established in one. Y. at once brings forward some of the goods provided by her relatives, and places these with the ~~xxxx~~ goods which ~~X~~ X.'s relatives received at the actual wedding and are about to give away. The whole distributed
are then ~~xxxxxxx~~ to the guests, together with presents provided by X. himself for Y.'s ~~xxxxxxxxx

relatives one or more boards studded with the teeth of the sea-otter. Such a gift makes teeth for the bride so that if she ever quarrels with another woman she can bare her teeth and
shame her rival by saying;--

"What can you do? You have no teeth, while I have two sets (or as many boards as were given at her marriage)."

The grandson of a Fort Rupert Indian, living in Bella Coola and considered a member of the tribe, was the owner of one of these boards and used it at the marriage of his daughter in 1914. It was first given to the mother of the bride-groom, and repurchased with a copper; then given to the bride-groom, and redeemed; and finally given, and again repurchased, from the father of the groom. The woman for whom this was done can thus boast that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage. The board used on this occasion was purchased for the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa.

It will be noticed that these complicated marriage rites are necessary on account of the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Consequently, among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriages is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together without ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted.

Married Life.

It is unfortunate that in describing any primitive tribe, the ethnologist must concentrate on ceremonies and other important events, to the detriment of the daily routine which makes up the greater part of the lives of mankind. This is particularly true with respect to marriage. Y. usually lives in the house of X.'s father, though economic circumstances may compel him to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bed-rooms in the house of X.'s father. The married life of X. and Y. does not difder materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world,

and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love seldoms enters into the original choice of a mate, yet a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realise that marriage is an affair affecting the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are very fond of children, and if any are born it is a matter of sincere rejoicing. Of course this is in part because it binds the two families even more closely togther, but parental affection is one of the strongest, and most pleasant, Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spile their children, infants especially are never cha tised and seldom rebuked as they should be. They grow up in the open environment of the houses, absorbing much of their lore by watching and imitating, less by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, and the mother leading another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take thier children with them on all occasions. If it is necessary for a mother to be absent on some arduous tiol, her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative.

Bella Coola marriage chiefly differs from that of more civilised communities in that it concerns not only individuals, but their respective families as the two well. This has been clearly shown in the rites preceding marriage at at the actual wedding itself. But the obligation of present giving does not stop at that time. Whenever X. gives a kusiut dance or other ceremony, Y.'s relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presents given them during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the relative value of presents given and obtained, though it is known that the family of the woman loses financially in the end. It is recognised that the father of many daughters is an unfortunate individual, who is always poor and over-worked through the necessity of providing for them In so doing, however, he is able to increase his own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to get along someway; perhaps the necessity of the case rouses his ambitions. Likewise X.'s relatives contribute

to any ceremonial staged by my Y.'s father. If, forexample, one of Y.'s relatives dies, X. and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expendes. In fact, any ceremonial of any kind serves as an a excuse for the relatives by marriage to contribute and thus demonstarate publicly their influence and importance.

Further, if Y. should not be a kusiut her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and intimates that his daughter is hmx his no longer xx makes no objections. So she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Frequently too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y. should die childless the names return to X.'s relatives. But if there are children then pass to them. It is said that s sack names can never be transferred in this manner.

The concept of mutual help between families xxxxxx who have intermarried is one that lasts for generations. At the present time there is living in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian who left home some forty years ago and had since been living in Smith's Inlet where he married and had a son. On the death of his wife this old man came xx back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. It had long been imagined that the man was dead During his absence all his relatives had died, and the old man was forgotten. He went at once to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, and as soon as he mentioned this fact and explained who he was, he was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had even heard of his existence, and the son cannot even talk Bella Coola.

X. and Y. themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families.

Y.'s father and other relatives continue to take an interest not only in her ceremonial welfare, but in her personal comfort as well. If X. should beat or otherwise abuse her, they would expostulate; and if his cruelty became unbearable they would shelter their daughter if she ran away from her husband. It assumed as a matter of course that if X. should murder Y. she would be revenged by her family.

My informants only knew of one instance of this, when the murdered avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule wives are fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of her husband, and the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband might sometimes sell his wife as a slave, and one case is known of this having occurred to the daughter of a chief. Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Tax̱ɬex m, a Bella Coola chief, was married to the son of Bella Bella chief living at Qoqoy tk. Thamnamx At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, Tax̱ɬex m gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives contributed a certain amount of goods to "re-buy" her (1). They were not wealthy so that the goods were of small value. Tax̱ɬex m had expected a larger present, and now found himself in the unenviable position of being unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but instead soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecendented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings. (2)

A husband demands faitfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. Daughters of chiefs on whom valuable presents have been spent are usually faithful to their husbands, but the marriage bond is less firm when only formed by goods of small value. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to his absence from Bella Coola, he would probably accept it as his own and do no more than administer a beating. Some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters is not clear; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband alone and he can do as he thinks fit. If the

(1) See page
(2) See page

daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their marriages, are more lax. If the

husband should catch a ~~da~~ seducer he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the offender's family would be considered wrong to exact blood revenge. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also give him presents to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not ~~shuun~~ share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to white men in return for money. This is not considered creditable, but Bella Coola sentiment is does not strongly condemn ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ breaches of the moral code and this is thought to be solely an affair ~~of~~ that concerns the husband. The writer was told of a Bella Bella custom by which a wife had one of her husband's friends as recognized paramour. It is said that he not only knows of this, but receives the presents which the lover gives his wife, ~~xxxxxxx~~ The wto continue to be friends and often hunt together, in, fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice could be found in Bella Coola. ~~although~~

Polygamy.

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are monogamous, an assumption only correct for the last twenty of ~~fifty~~ thirty years. Previous to that time it was quite common for chiefs to have three, four, or more wives. Pots a, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven wives, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the ~~xxx~~ manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter and the no- ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was, to the Bella Coola, obvious. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and a chief could not be expected to demean himself by working for someone else. Besides, parents were only too glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the pleasurable distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learnt, the number of the sexes seems always to have been about equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males

were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible through the surplus of women caused by this. The great majority of men had only a single wife, some chiefs had two, but only a chief of great importance could hope to aspire to more, while Ruk the case of Poth a was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is said that disputes were frequent. Poth e endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each wife with a special bed-room and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One of my informants had two wives when a young man and found that the only way to prevent jealousy was by sleeping in a single bed, between his two wives. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives did not usually bring the domestic bliss which was expected, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest with regard to polygyny was that two sisters could not be married at the same time.

The writer asked two of his informants about polyandry, and in each case was told of a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did notostracize the offenders since a person's marital affairs are considered to concern him alone. It was accordingly assumed that the institution of true polyandry did not exist, and the writer was greatly surprised to have another of his informants volunteer information about its occurrence in the families of chiefs. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was thus considered indeed fortunate since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriages in each case. The husbands were never brothers,and seldom related, since the ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another husband, who assumed the leadership of the group, with the others, as including he who had just

as followers.

been leader.,It is said that there was seldom friction between the joint husbands, since each realised that his turn would come to be leader, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favors indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically assuming membership in the ancestral family of each. Such a child was considered indeed fortunate, and to have been provided with every potential means of assitance in the struggle of life.

Recognising its importance, the writer made every effort to verify this statement. Further questioning elicited the information that my informant had never seen a case of this, though he claimed that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young though they had never actually seen an instance. One informant believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and that he had heard of its occurrence among the "Kwatsino" people near Newitte. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. He believesthat the knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given (1), is strong evidence in support of this view. At the same time, he realises that knowledge based on hearsay is not entirely satisfactory. Every effort was made whil collecting information to confirm and re-confirm every statement, and where this is any doubt he feels that it is only fair to the reader to state the facts, and allow him to draw his own conclusions.

Discreditable Marriages.

Since it has been assumed that Y. is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X. to describe these alliances of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been very rare. Sometimes it was a man who thus demeaned himself, sometimes a woman. Since no slave

could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the ceremony usually consisted only of the man and woman living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and an effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to wash away, or at least to cover over, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave-free man matriage be not washed, he can always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents wedding.

In case of murder the son or other near relative of the victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood", but these never suffice entirely to wipe away the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to the fact that their mother was married to atone for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief would make it impolitic thus to refer to his ancestry, but there are few instance of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot is practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is indeed unenviable, and her children would only have the status of the offspring of the unwashed children of unwashed offspring of a slave and a free-man. Sometimes a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting the exaction of blood revenge.

Repurchase of the Wife.

In this section it is possible to return to the instance of X. and Y. since the repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the presents given by X.'s relatives before and at the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later,

whenever, and as often as, X. gives a potlatch Y.'s relatives are expected to "re-buy" her fromher husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has admittedly only a ceremonial significance since Y. remains X.'s wife. ~~But the repurchase serves three purposesM:--~~

~~1. It provides goods wherewith X. is able to give potlatches and so reach a position of influence. The Bella Coola believe that a man is helpless without the support of his wife's realtives; this factor is important in choosing a wife.~~

~~2. It enables Y. and her realtives to increase their importance since the sums contributed by them are publicly announced.~~

~~3. It gives strength to the offspring. A child whose mother has not been rebought from his father is said to be unable to walk, as if there was no strength to his legs or sense to his movements. From the petty feuds of childhood to old age, he can always be shamed by a reminder that his mother was not repurchased. The more often this is done, the better it is for the children.~~

Whenever X. intimates that he is going to give a potlatch, Y. and her relatives irrespective of whether or not children have been born. gegin to hoard goods. Their actual value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can. Usually X. does not know exactly how much will be provided until the actual delivery of goods at the potlatch. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by X the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X. with respect to such gifts has already been defined (1) so need not here be repeated. Even if Y. has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she frequently brings him an another when repurchased. This is perhaps an event of even greater importance to the woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

On the night of xlaxtn m (2)x Y.'s father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. It may be the right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a painting for the wall of the house, or any other element embodied

(1) See page .
(2) See page .

in the origin myth. These prerogatives are displayed by X. at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y.'s father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion and is the designation by which X. is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is so "heavy", in the sense of 'so important' that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. The rights of X. to this name are the identical with those described for names "dragged across" at marriage, so need not here be repeated. Kusiut names are frequently transferred as presents, but without any similar public bestowal. One or two instances are known of the acquisition of s saok prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that Potl s was able to import s saok ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the prerogatives he is transmitting, Y.'s father usually takes the opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X.'s hunting-grounds, or fish in the his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since X. is to assist Y. it is considered fitting to grant him all facilities for obtaining pelts and food. X.'s father

On the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch, when X. and his relatives are waiting within the house (1) the goods contributed by Y.'s relatives are sent in. They are counted, and the announcement made of their quantity. The herald then cries out:—

"Y.'s father is without. He has come to rebuy his daughter," and he is invited to enter.

If a number of individuals are associated with him in providing the goods, their names, with relationship to Y., is announced. One instance is known of a woman who, being an orphan without relatives, acquired the goods to repurchase herslef by her own arduous toil. In this case the announcement was made:—

"Y.'s belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had fastened up her her clothing with a belt when working. If a man dies when about to rebuy his daughter, the goods amassed by him are used for this purpose and the announcement made:—

"Y.'s father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The first people to come to earth at Snutl tl used a